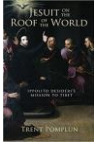
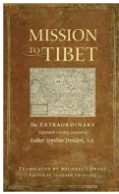


*IPPOLITO DESIDERIS; & A JESUIT'S QUEST FOR
THE SOUL OF TIBET*

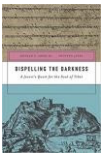
Reviewed by Enrico Beltramini (Notre Dame de Namur University)



Trent Pomplun. 2010. *Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri's Mission to Tibet*. New York: Oxford University Press, xvi + 302 pages, ISBN 978-0-19-537786-6 (hardback 29.95USD).



Michael J. Sweet (trans) and Leonard Zwilling (ed). 2010. *Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S. J.* Boston: Wisdom Publications, xxiv + 797 pages, ISBN 978-086171-676-0 (paperback 34.95USD).



Donald S. Lopez Jr. and Thupten Jinpa. 2017. *Dispelling the Darkness: A Jesuit's Quest for the Soul of Tibet*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 320 pages, ISBN 978-0-674-65970-4 (hardback 29.95USD).

These three contributions address the fascinating life and major works of Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733), an Italian Jesuit missionary who spent almost seven years in Tibet in the eighteenth century. There are two good stories here. The first is that of Desideri, who left Italy to establish a Jesuit mission on "the roof of the world" during the political upheaval of early eighteenth-century Tibet and the conflict between Jesuits and Capuchins within Roman Catholicism. The second is that of Desideri's writings, in both Italian and Tibetan: *Notizie storiche del Thibet e Memorie de' viaggi e Missione ivi fatta* [*Historical Notes on Tibet and Memoirs of the Journeys and Missions Made There*]; *Mgo skar gyi bla ma i po li do zhes bya ba yis phul ba'i bod kyi mkhas pa rnams la skye ba snga ma dang stong pa nyid kyi lta ba'i sgo nas zhu*

Beltramini, Enrico. 2018 Review: *Jesuit on the Roof of the World; Father Ippolito Desideris; & a Jesuit's Quest for the Soul of Tibet*. *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 51:371-384.

ba [*Inquiry Concerning the Doctrines of Previous Lives and Emptiness Offered to the Scholars of Tibet by the Star Head Lama Called Ippolito*]; and, *Ke ri se ste an kyi chos lugs kyi snying po* [*Essence of the Christian Religion*]. The books under review here cover both stories: Trent Pomplun presents a biography of Desideri; Sweet translates *Notizie istoriche* into English; and finally, Lopez Jr. and Jinpa's manuscript offers an English translation of the Tibetan books *Inquiry* and *Essence*.

In this article, I offer a brief profile of Desideri's life and works, including his mission in Tibet. I also sketch a history of Jesuit missions to Tibet, to help the reader contextualize Desideri's missionary enterprise and the so-called Jesuit-Capuchin struggle over which religious order within Roman Catholicism would be allowed to evangelize Tibet. In the second section, I address the three books in turn. Finally, I address the complexity of Desideri's approach to the Tibetans and their religion, as such approach has been clarified by other scholars' work and through the translation of his very words. In the last section, I offer some personal comment on Desideri. Translations from Italian into English are my own.

Ippolito Desideri was born in 1684 in Pistoia, near Florence, and joined the Society of Jesus in 1700. During his years of study in Rome, he was ordered to go to Tibet and establish a Jesuit mission. Desideri left Italy in 1712 and after a stop in Goa (India), he reached Lhasa in 1716. In 1721, Desideri was ordered to leave Tibet and return to India. In 1727, he left India and returned to Rome, where he died in 1733 at the age of forty-eight. A prolific author, his works were written for different audiences and with different purposes. His writings in Tibetan are a repudiation of Buddhism in the Tibetan language and style. They are intended for Buddhist scholars and aim to convert. These manuscripts are probably the first example of Tibetan Christian literature (Gisper-Sauch 1985:27). His works in Italian (partially translated in Latin) were for an ecclesial audience to further Jesuit missionary efforts in Tibet. These manuscripts take the form of a report, offering a window into Tibetan culture and thought. For reasons that will become clear later, Desideri has attracted the interest of scholars not only in different fields of Roman Catholicism (church

history, history of mission, theology of religions), but also Tibetan Buddhism, the history of Tibet, and Buddhist-Christian studies.

Jesuit explorers made their way to Tibet on four different occasions between 1624 and 1721. Portuguese Jesuit, Antonio de Andrade (1580-1634), who set out from India in search of rumored (but non-existent) Christian communities beyond the Himalayas, made the first trip in 1624. The expedition of Jesuits Estêvão Cacella (1585-1630) and João Cabral (1599-1669) followed in 1626. In the meantime, the Jesuit's goal had changed, i.e., the establishment of missions that might serve as intersecting points of a land route between China and India. Searching for such an overland route, the Austrian Jesuit, Johannes Grueber (1623-1680) and the Belgian Albert d'Orville (1621-1662), were the first Europeans to reach Lhasa in 1661. The final journey was that of Desideri, who journeyed to the seat of the Dalai Lama and lived with the Tibetans for almost five years to study their religion, language, and customs, engaging in a kind of intellectual mission.

Desideri was not, despite his claims, the only Christian in Lhasa, nor the only Christian in Tibet. In the first half of the eighteenth century, Lhasa was an international city with Russian and Armenian merchants and commerce. Lhasa also hosted a Capuchin mission. In the severely hierarchical organization of the Roman Catholic Church of that time, religious orders were granted mission jurisdiction in non-Christian territories by the Propaganda Fide, the branch of the Church administration that controlled Catholic missionary activity worldwide. Italian missionaries of the Capuchin Order had been granted the Tibetan mission in 1703, and the Capuchins were ultimately responsible for the expulsion of Desideri from Tibet on the grounds of their exclusive right to the Tibetan mission as granted by the Propaganda Fide. Consequently, in January 1721, Desideri received an order to leave Tibet and return to India, which ended the Jesuit mission in Tibet.

In the last three centuries, Ippolito Desideri has undergone a series of remarkable transformations in academic literature. In the nineteenth century literature, he was perceived as an explorer. The recovery of parts of his Italian writings attracted the interest of Tibetanists who saw him as the posthumous founder of Tibetan studies.

The discovery of Desideri's Tibetan writings captivated the attention of Roman Catholic theologians who interpreted him as a theologian who anticipated the current conversation on interreligious dialogue.

The most recent renaissance in Desideri studies is the brainchild of Enzo Gualtierio Bargiacchi, an independent scholar from Desideri's birthplace, Pistoia, Italy. In the early twenty-first century, Bargiacchi's first articles on Desideri set the stage for a series of small monographs, articles, and conference presentations that culminated in works of great importance for Desideri studies. In particular, a website devoted to Desideri (<http://www.ippolito-desideri.net>) is a goldmine of information on the Jesuit, related to Bargiacchi's larger *Progetto Desideri*. The three books considered in this review are part of this greater effort toward reappraisal of the great Jesuit.

...

Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri's Mission to Tibet is a biography and analysis of Desideri's theological approach to Tibetan Buddhism. The author, Trent Pomplun, is Associate Professor in the Theology Department of Loyola University, Maryland. While Professor Pomplun introduces his book on Desideri as a historical account of the Jesuit's mission, his book is more than that. Part theology, part mission history, and part Church history, Pomplun engages the Jesuit in a sequential series of chapters: Desideri's life before and during his mission in Tibet (chapters One and Two); Desideri's attitude toward Buddhist philosophy (Chapter Three); historical background (Chapter Four); the Jesuit-Capuchin dispute over canonical jurisdiction (Chapter Five); and notes on Desideri's literary style (Chapter Six). A hundred pages of notes and a bibliography add to the usefulness of this critical biography. I focus here on the theological encounter and the intra-Catholic dispute, which are the best chapters.

Based on close readings of a wide range of primary sources in Tibetan, Italian, and Latin, Pomplun decodes the philosophical and theological dialogue between the first Christian missionary and theologian to master the Tibetan language and Tibetan traditions of Buddhist thought. Pomplun sees this theological dialogue in terms of the encounter of two forms of scholasticism. On one side, the author offers a brief but comprehensive description of the Jesuit version of "Baroque Scholasticism"; on the other, Pomplun describes the

ambiguity of Desideri's approach to Tibetan Buddhism, a mix of respect for the depth and integrity of the religion of the Tibetan Plateau and missionary impulse to correct a supposed form of theoretical atheism. Of course, at the center of this dialogue stands the dictum that Christianity is a religion and Tibetan Buddhism is a philosophy. If it is a religion, Tibetan Buddhism is a bad religion, i.e., a religion influenced by demons. But according to Desideri, Buddhism is not a religion because it escapes the notion of God and refuses the idea of His providence. Desideri attempted to convince his interlocutors - with no remarkable results - the scholarly monks of the monasteries in which he learned Buddhism, of their philosophical errors, including the Tibetan doctrines of nothingness and reincarnation.

Pomplun also addresses the complex, exhausting juridical debate between two Roman Catholic orders, the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) and the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (the Franciscans) over the mission territory of Tibet. A skilled decoder of the intricate Catholic internal controversies, Pomplun's careful and accurate handling of the subject suggests that he knows Catholicism well from the inside. Despite the Italian missionaries of the Capuchin Order having been granted the Tibetan mission in 1703 by the Propaganda Fide, Desideri was nevertheless sent to Tibet by his superior, only to receive, five years later, an order by the same superior to leave Tibet and return to India.

However, this is not the end of the story. In the following decade, Desideri was occupied by the legal proceedings at the Propaganda Fide between himself, representing the Jesuit order, and Father Felice di Montecchio (1671-1732), his Capuchin counterpart. Desideri wrote three Defenses of the Jesuit position. Pomplun leads readers across the abstruse labyrinth of canon law to explain that the result had never been in question. The Franciscans outmaneuvered the Jesuits, who never had a real chance to be granted the mission territory of Tibet. On 29 November 1732, the Propaganda issued its final terse order on the matter, confirming the exclusive right of the Capuchins to the Tibet mission, and forbidding any further discussion on the subject.

•••

In his book, Pomplun mentions a new edition of Desideri's work, which appeared in 2010, the same year as Pomplun's own work. He notes that

he consulted this edition, and his own study appears to have informed it. This new edition is *Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S. J.*, a translation of *Notizie storiche* that includes the critical apparatus of translations, notes, and indexes. The two editors, Michael J Sweet and Leonard Zwilling, are affiliated with the University of Wisconsin-Madison. In an Introduction of more than one hundred pages, Sweet and Zwilling offer an exhaustive presentation of the nature and style of *Notizie storiche*, the making of *Notizie storiche*, and the historical context. The latter is of particular value, illuminating not only the life of Desideri, but also the intricate process that brought the Society of Jesus to send a missionary to Tibet and then to remove him. After the first missions in Tibet in the seventeenth century, Sweet and Zwilling explain that not only did the Jesuit's interest in Tibet fade, but "as strange as it may seem, ... all institutional memory, and seemingly all knowledge, of the earlier Jesuit presence in Tibet had been lost" (22).

In this juridical and practical void, the Capuchins requested permission to open a mission in Tibet. The request was granted and in 1707, the first Capuchin expedition reached Lhasa. Several other missions followed: in 1712 and 1716, two Capuchin expeditions reached Lhasa. The Jesuit interest in Tibet seems to have been rediscovered in coincidence with the Capuchin's missions. The new father general of the Society of Jesus, Michelangelo Tamburini (1648-1730), supported the proposal to send two Jesuits to Tibet in 1707, four years after the Capuchin Order had been granted the Tibetan mission by the Propaganda Fide. The project was aborted, but this failure only increased Tamburini's impatience. In the following year, two more Jesuits were proposed, approved, and finally redirected elsewhere, due to the manpower shortage.

In 1711, two men were sent to Tibet by the Society, but one died and the other gave up the mission. It is in this context that Desideri emerged as an option. Sweet and Zwilling address the logical questions: Why did the Jesuit seek to revive a mission in which they had apparently lost all interest and all knowledge? Why did they send missionaries to Tibet that had been granted to another religious order? Their answer is that Tamburini thought that by sending missionaries into Tibet, the Society of Jesus revitalized the memories of its previous

missions and introduced a juridical exception to the 1703 decision whereby the Propaganda Fide granted the rival Capuchins the mission to Tibet. Sweet's and Zwilling's description of the juridical and historical background of Desideri's expedition to Tibet reveals the precarious status of such an expedition, one that in effect lasted only five years.

Combined with Desideri's mission in Tibet, the Society of Jesus engaged in a series of appeals to the Pope to try and overrule the 1703 decision of the Propaganda Fide. Desideri wrote the first appeal, which was filed in 1718. This coincided with the decision of the Propaganda Fide to grant the Capuchins exclusive rights in Tibet. A second appeal was filed to the Pope and the Propaganda Fide the next year against the decree that the Jesuits should leave Tibet. More appeals were filed in 1721, mostly by Desideri, upon his return from Lhasa to Delhi. Desideri issued a summons to da Montecchio to answer his grievances before a papal tribunal. Finally, in 1728, he returned to Rome and produced his defense. It is in this legal battle that Desideri composed *Notizie istoriche*. Upon arrival in Rome, Desideri had nearly completed a first draft of the account of his journey. He immediately began to write a second version in three books, and then penned a further revision of the work, so that the accounts of his journey written in Italian consisted of four volumes. *Notizie istoriche* is one of those four volumes. Sweet and Zwilling explain that at least five versions of *Notizie istoriche* have been produced and how the account of Desideri's journey and the legal documents prepared for the legal confrontation with the Capuchins are entangled.

While an account of just how Desideri's Italian manuscripts were recovered is absorbing, it is beyond the scope of this review. It is enough to say that Desideri's Italian writings languished in various archives, including the Jesuit Archive in Rome, for almost two centuries, unknown until the Pistoian gentleman and antiquity collector Filippo Rossi Cassigoli (1836-1890), discovered them in 1875.

...

Dispelling the Darkness: A Jesuit's Quest for the Soul of Tibet is a translation from the Tibetan of two of Desideri's writings, *Inquiry* and *Essence*. In Tibet, Desideri managed to write five important works in the Tibetan language. Four of these have been published in Italian

translation (Toscano 1981-1989). The unpublished manuscript is *Inquiry*. *Dispelling* is the work of two leading experts on Tibet and Buddhism, that is, the American Donald S. Lopez Jr. and Tibetan Thupten Jinpa (official translator of the XIV Dalai Lama). The authors translate selections from the monumental unpublished *Inquiry*, and all of *Essence*, into English, and provide introductions both to the life of Desideri and to his writings.

Desideri's *Inquiry* is a repudiation of two pillars of Tibetan Buddhist doctrine: rebirth (or 'reincarnation' in Christian terms) and emptiness. He divided the work into two parts. The first is a series of poems meant to captivate the attention of his audience and frame a Christian message within a Buddhist narrative. The second is a long, intricate, and carefully written interpretation of Tibetan Buddhism as a philosophy. The reasons for this transformation will be addressed later in this review. Moving from a rhetorical to an argumentative style, Desideri first challenged the notion of rebirth, but he never completed this section. His original plan, as explained by the authors of *Dispelling*, contained a refutation of the Buddhist position on rebirth, the presentation of the Christian position on the subject, and the rebuttal of objections that the opponent might raise. However, Desideri concluded only some parts of the original plan. Desideri elaborated a first Tibetan-language draft of this work in 1716. Then, on 24 June 1718, he started, from scratch, another draft on the same topic, which he would work on throughout 1719.

Essence is a systematic presentation of Christian faith in the Tibetan language and style. The work is divided into two parts. The first is an exposition of Being as Self-existing and cause of all that is through the arguments of the first cause (i.e., a demonstration of the uncreated creator of all). The second is a dialogue between a teacher and a disciple on "the essence of wisdom." The dialogue offers a definition of "Who is it that is called a 'Christian'."

Christians are people who have faith in Jesus Christ, the peerless and supreme guide, and who uphold him as the crown jewel and practice the flawless faith and religion set forth by the sole guide, the lord himself (207).

The dialogue continues, addressing the three aspects of faith that are necessary for Christians: the faith of belief, the faith that makes hope possible, and the faith that produces joy in a pure and resplendent heart (i.e., charity). Faith, hope, and charity are the three theological virtues that allow humanity to share in God's nature (1 Corinthians 13:12).

In this review, I address a specific angle of Desideri, i.e., his intellectual approach to Tibetan Buddhism. It has been said (in particular by Janet Gyatso, Professor of Buddhist Studies at Harvard University and a specialist in Tibetan Buddhist studies) that Desideri shows in his writing a "complex combination of admiration, accommodation, and refutation of Tibetan Buddhist thought" (Trent 2010:back cover). A brief comment on these three terms may help the reader better appreciate the prehistory of what we now call interreligious dialogue.

Desideri's writings in Italian show an uncompromised admiration of Tibetan Buddhist thought. In later accounts, he commented that:

If one considers what I have stated about the Tibetan religion, although I believe the articles of Faith to be absolutely wrong and pestiferous, yet the rules and directions imposed on the will are not alien to the principles of sound reason; they seem to me worthy of admiration as they not only prescribe hatred of vice, inculcate battling against passions, but, what is more remarkable, lead man towards sublime and heroic perfection (Desideri 1932:299-300).

I will return later to this distinction between "the article of Faith" and "the rules and directions imposed on the will." Here I focus on Desideri's explicit "admiration" for a religious thinking that has the power to bring the human to perfection. This admiration turns into attraction and sympathy. Desideri was attracted by Tibetan belief and showed an instinctive understanding of the subtle forms of Buddhist doctrines. He shared the life of Buddhist scholars, seemed to adopt their feelings, and ended up penetrating their minds. His attraction can be better appreciated if linked with Desideri's sympathy, an instinctive understanding of the depth of Tibetan Buddhist doctrines

without knowledge of Indian philosophy. Nevertheless, he could grasp intuitively and express brilliantly the complex meaning of concepts such as emptiness and reincarnation. Giuseppe Tucci notes how the Jesuit's work "even today is by depth and clarity one of the safest expositions of Tibetan religious beliefs also for its width of mind and for the sympathy with which he approached the people he was a guest" (1943:224-225).

Was Desideri a disciple of Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and his enculturation strategy? This is what Professor Gyatso calls "accommodation." Accommodation, or enculturation, is the adoption by the Jesuit missionary of the customs, the way of life, even the way of thinking of the people to convert. As the 29th Society of Jesus General, Dutchman Peter Hans Kolvenbach (1928-2016) says "enculturation is both method and substance of evangelization. It means meeting other men at their roots and deepest principles, and there favor an encounter with the Gospel" (Kolvenbach 1990, 76). Enculturation, in the case of Desideri, means to express himself in the very modes of Tibetan Buddhist thought. The XIV Dalai Lama offers an illuminating perspective of Desideri's engagement with Tibetan Buddhism from a Tibetan Buddhist perspective:

Fascinated by the complexity of Buddhist thought and religious practice, this Jesuit [i.e., Desideri] not only mastered the Tibetan language but also embarked on a rigorous study of some of the key Buddhist texts that form the heart of the academic curriculum in the scholastic monasteries (2010:11).

His Holiness then comments on one of the five Tibetan texts written by Desideri. As it becomes evident later in the quote, the Dalai Lama may be referring to *Inquiry*. Here readers have a description of Desideri's hermeneutical strategy from a Tibetan perspective:

It turns out that, during his stay in Lhasa, Desideri composed a lengthy text in Tibetan. His book uses the model of many Tibetan Buddhist scholastic works, which typically treat a key topic within the framework of three broad headings: 1. refutation of the standpoint of others; 2. positing of one's own standpoint; and 3. rebuttal of objections against one's own

standpoint raised by others. The work presented his critique of the key Buddhist theories of karma, rebirth, and emptiness. Then, remarkably using Buddhist philosophical language and phraseology, he argued for the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity and dealt with possible objections against this doctrine that might be raised from the Buddhist philosophical standpoint (2010:11).

The Dalai Lama's comment proceeds with another remark:

According to a Tibetan scholar who has read Desideri's text (which is as yet unpublished), the work begins with a robust argument for the value of comparative religious study. For example, I am told that Desideri argues that if one finds a convergence of one's own tradition with another, this can serve as an indirect affirmation of both. He uses the image of a tree watered by different sources—rain water, a stream, and so on—where the tree resembles the human soul while the water represents the different spiritual traditions that can sustain and nurture it (2010:12).

The Dalai Lama concludes his proceeding with another remark:

Although he came originally as a missionary, intent to convert the Tibetans to Christianity, Desideri's experience of immersion in Tibetan culture produced a remarkable and very early testament to inter-religious dialogue. I hope that one day a translation and a careful study of this important document will be undertaken to make it available to the wider world (2010:12).

Two considerations must be added at this point. First, by the time Desideri embarked on his mission in 1712, the Jesuit approach of accommodating local customs had been severely condemned by the Vatican and the Pope himself (1704). Of course, Desideri was aware of the situation and he does not defend accommodation in his writings. His approach can be probably better defined as "pragmatic," as it adopted a pragmatic style, learning the colloquial and literary languages, exchanging gifts with courtiers and monks, and tailoring his apologetics to Tibetan sensibilities and cultural categories. Second, despite the sympathetic approach to Buddhism and admiration for

Tibetan philosophies, Desideri was a missionary, and his purpose was evangelization.

I now return to the distinction between "the article of Faith" and "the rules and directions imposed to the will" mentioned earlier. In his years in Rome, before moving to India, Desideri learned a specific theology of non-Christian religions, later called "exclusivism" in the Catholic vernacular and dismissed half a century ago, according to which non-Christian religions are human inventions. Only Christianity comes from God. Or, in a more theological fashion, Desideri learned the distinction between the "natural virtues" of an unbeliever and the "supernatural grace" that directs these virtues toward Christian salvation. Therefore, the articles of faith of Tibetan Buddhism are false by definition. The remaining part of Buddhism, "the rules and directions imposed to the will," attracted his attention because it belongs to the natural order of things, i.e., the realm of nature in which the human pursues natural ends, i.e., "perfection."

As a product of Second Scholasticism, Desideri believed in a "purely natural order" in which humanity receives natural divine gifts proportionate to human nature. Christians, however, enjoy a second supernatural end, given in the form of a divinely decreed gift. Thus, an existential, ontological separation exists between believers (i.e., Christians) and non-believers, so that the intellectual encounter between religions, according to eighteenth-century Scholasticism, never takes the form of a real theological dialogue. It is highly improbable that Desideri conceived himself as involved in a real confrontation at the level of faith, because he was operating under the assumption that there exists only one true faith. To put it differently, Desideri maintained an asymmetrical relationship with his Buddhist scholar fellows, claiming to build a philosophical common ground when in reality, he was engaging in traditional theology in order to convince his audience of the erroneousness of its concepts. A further discussion of this topic can be found in the literature (Pomplun 2011).

A final comment: Desideri's reports, catechisms, and memories, as Pomplun and the other scholars considered in this review explain, are designed for persuasion. His Tibetan works are written to woo the Tibetan elite away from their faith. His Italian works are conceived specifically to persuade the Office of the Propaganda to rule in favor of

the Jesuits over the Capuchins. Finally, his Latin works served to edify both Jesuit missionaries and donors in Europe. Fundamentally, Desideri emerges as a man of sober rationality combined with a sympathetic appreciation of Tibetan Buddhism. I suggest readers take this statement literally. Desideri was a missionary and his mission was evangelization. Thus, in reading his writings, whether in Italian, Latin, or Tibetan, a reader should remember that no matter what level Desideri's sympathetic appreciation of Tibetan Buddhism rose to, conversion is his focus and the purpose of his writings. Moreover, Desideri was a man of sober rationality in a dual sense: he excelled in philosophy and he used it as a neutral ground to discuss concepts and notions with his Tibetan Buddhist friends. It is in his philosophy of Tibetan Buddhism that eventually his main legacy resides.

As writer José Saramago says in *Travels in Portugal*, "the journey never ends. Only the travelers end. And they too may live on in memory" (Saramago 1990:443).

REFERENCES

- Bstan-dzin-rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama XIV His Holiness the Dalai Lama. 2010. *Toward a True Kinship of Faiths: How the World's Religions Can Come Together*. New York: Doubleday Religion.
- Desideri, Ippolito (Filippo de Filippi (ed), and C Wessels, introduction). 1937. *An Account of Tibet. The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S.J., 1712-1727*. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.
- Gispert-Sauch, George. 1985. Tibetan Christian Literature. Remembering a Centenary..., *Ignis Studies* III(1) (serial n. 9): 26-34.
- Kolvenbach, Peter-Hans. 1990. *Fedeli a Dio e all'Uomo: i Gesuiti un'Avanguardia Obbediente di Fronte alle Sfide della Modernità*. Cinisello Balsamo (Milano): Edizioni Paoline.
- Pomplun, Trent. 2011. Natural Reason and Buddhist Philosophy: The Tibetan Studies of Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733). *History of Religions* 50:384-419.
- Saramago, José (Amanda Hopkinson and Nick Caistor, translators). 1990. *Journey to Portugal: In Pursuit of Portugal's History and Culture*. New York: Harcourt.
- Toscano, Giuseppe (ed). 1982. *Opere tibetane di Ippolito Desideri S.J.*, Rome: IsMEO, 1981-1989 (4 vol): Vol I, *Il T'o-rans [The Dawn]*, 1981; Vol II, *Lo Sñin-po [The Essence of Christian Doctrine]*, Vol III, *Il Byun k'uns [The Origin of Living Beings and All Things]*, 1984; Vol IV, *Il Nes legs [Supreme Goodness and Ultimate Purpose]*, 1989.
- Tucci, Giuseppe. 1943. Le Missioni Cattoliche e il Tibet in Celso Costantini, Paschalis M. D'Elia, and Georg Schurhammer (eds.). *Le Missioni Cattoliche e la Cultura dell'Oriente: Conferenze "Massimo Piccinini"*. Rome: IsMEO, 215-231.